

"WORKINGMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS, AND A WORLD TO GAIN." THE I. W. W. IS THE WAY TO UNITE

The Industrial Union Bulletin

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

"LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES"

CHICAGO, FEBRUARY 20, 1909.

Vol. II. No. 29.

50c a Year.

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

WAR IN MONTANA.

The I. W. W. lumber workers in Montana are now in the midst of a desperate struggle with the combined forces of the Lumber Companies and the A. F. of L. "International" of lumber workers. To add to the complication, the United States Government, through its Indian agent in charge of Flathead Indian Reservation, has issued orders to keep all organizations off the reservation while the fall timber, bought by the lumber companies, is being worked up there by the companies' men: The Government order reads as follows:

"Department of Interior,
United States Indian Service,
Flathead Agency, Jocko, Mont.,
Dec. 10, 1908.

Minnehan and Corbett,
Evarto, Mont.
Gentlemen:

In view of recent occurrences, no organizers of any kind will be permitted on the reservation. In case any such appear at your camp, you will use all peaceable means to eject them from the reservation. Should they refuse to go you will immediately notify this office.

Very respectfully,
FRED C. MORRAN,
U. S. Indian Agent."

The following, which we take from a circular issued by the "Executive Committee, Lumbermen's Union I. W. W., Western Montana," and dated at Missoula, Dec. 20, 1908, tells the tale of A. F. of L. scabbery and fair tactics.

"To begin with, we have two unions in the lumber industry of Western Montana. One is known as the International Brotherhood of Woodmen and Sawmill Workers, of the American Federation of Labor, and the other is the I. W. W. (Industrial Workers of the World).

"The first one is very much loved by the Big Blackfoot Milling Company, and other lumber companies of Western Montana. It is in its natural that the Big Blackfoot Milling Company, which is the Amalgamated Copper Company of Butte, which again is the Standard Oil Company of Rockefeller, Rogers & Company, the richest corporation in the world, should love it, when we stop to realize that this International Brotherhood of Scabs assisted the companies to defeat the Industrial Workers in the Spring of 1908, when the members of the I. W. W. went on strike to maintain their nine hour day and the wages that they had been getting for the previous year, and which, remember, the I. W. W. men had won by a strike in the Spring of 1907.

"It was impossible for the lumber companies to whip us into line alone, and they realized this, when they brought into existence the capitalist ally, the International.

"The method on the part of the employers to defeat the workers, is to pit one set of workers against the other; and today we find ourselves in this awful position of fighting each other, to the glorious satisfaction of the master class, as we realize that we can accomplish nothing, divided as we are. The fact that our bosses love the International, is proof that such an organization is no good and is not being run for the benefit of the workers, but on the contrary, to assist no one but the employers, and the fakirs at the head of the union, who are engineering the scab conspiracy.

"No I. W. W. man will join the International, until he has lost the last vestige of his principles and manhood. The International Brotherhood is a name to hide scabs behind, as it sounds better to scab under the name of a union, than without one.

"Every lumber worker who was in Western Montana in the spring of 1908, knows that they scabbed, and hundreds of honest men were gulled into the scab union, who would not have scabbed had they known the truth; that we scabbed of their cards and buttons, that were thrown at us by men who refused to scab when the truth was made known to them.

"Hundreds of men have tramped down from the Blackfoot, from Harpers and Balders at Stevensville and other places, before they would stand for persecution, to the extent of joining the company union, and thus lick the hand that was used to smite them while on strike.

"The persecution, of telling men that no I. W. W. man could work on the job, was not working fast enough to suit Mr. Capitalist, so a conference of labor fakirs (scabs) and employers, was held in Missoula in the month of December, 1908, in the Rankin hotel. Some little concessions were made by the operators: The principal one was that the men would not have to pay board for relay and stormy days when not working. We may say that, we have never paid for board in the camps, when lying off through stormy weather, so if an International scab can find any concession in this it is welcome to it. However, this is only a hook for the sucker to bite at, and join in with the scabs, where Mr. Operator can scold him; but the main agree-

ment arrived at between the fakir and the labor skinner was that the closed shop should prevail. This means that you will not work since this closed shop agreement went into effect, organizers of the International are going about with gun men belonging to the companies. The gun men do the talking, and the speech consists of: I HAVE BROUGHT THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZER WITH ME TO ORGANIZE YOU FELLOWS, AND IF YOU DON'T WANT TO JOIN ROLL YOUR BLANKETS AND HIT THE TRAIL. The men hit the trail.

"We want unionism; we must have unionism; but it must be based upon intelligence and the class struggle. It must be a fighting economic power if it will accomplish anything. It must stand for one union, and one enemy. THE PROFIT MONGER. It must not make the workers a slave to it, but the union must at all times be ready to assist the workers. That is Industrial Unionism, that is what the I. W. W. stands for.

"The whole matter in a nutshell is this: The companies want the International because it is a scab concern, and has assisted the masters to reduce wages. The companies hate the I. W. W. men fought to raise wages and shorten hours, which meant a reduction in profits to the masters. The I. W. W. men have placed thousands of dollars into the hands of the workers in the lumber industry; therefore the cause for the love for one, and the hatred for the other.

"Which do you want? The one that is loved because it has lowered the standard of living, or the one that is hated, because it has raised the standard of living.

"We ask you to UNITE with us in a workingman's union, as against a company loved, scab arrangement, that will degrade us."

SHOE WORKERS' STRIKE CALLED OFF.

On December 11 about 150 lasters employed in that department of the Selz, Schwab shoe factory in Chicago, went on strike against intolerable conditions. The leading rebels in the shop just before that had joined the Shoe Workers' Local, 167, I. W. W., and the strike was conducted by that organization.

The causes leading up to the affair were: (1) An intolerant piece work system under which wages were reduced to a starvation basis. The average wages did not exceed \$9.00 or \$10.00 a week, while some workers were unable to earn more than \$2.00 or \$3.00 in some weeks. (2) A system of fines for defective work, by which the full price of a pair of shoes was deducted from the laster's wages for any blemish in a shoe, no matter how slight. (3) The speeding of machinery, through the introduction of a new machine by the United Shoe Machinery Company, which has a monopoly of shoe machinery and is seeking to withdraw its old machines from the market, and to compel shoe manufacturers to introduce newly patented shoes. A sweeping reduction of 33 1/2 per cent in wages was assured by the new system, which was the main cause of the strike.

These and other abuses were of long standing in the Selz shop and finally came to a head December 11, through the discharge of one of the lasters for alleged "poor work," but really because he was agitating for better shop conditions. Following his discharge every laster left the shop.

On similar occasions in the past, Selz had successfully employed the usual capitalist method of pitting one nationality of workers against another. But on this occasion he failed. As far as the laster room was concerned, all nationalities joined hands. Poles, Germans, Italians, Irish, Scandinavians, Americans, went out together. Circulars were issued by the strike committee and distributed among the employees of the Selz, Schwab shoe factory in the different shoe shops and warehouses, calling upon these workers to join hands with the strikers and stop the company from producing and transporting shoes; but the other departments had not yet learned the lesson that "an injury to one is an injury to all," and remained at work, thus helping the company to defeat the strikers.

Financial support was not lacking as the infamy of the Selz shop and the strike was displayed by the men brought to the strikers aid from various quarters. Considerable sums of money were collected in other shoe factories of Chicago and in donations from different organizations. The total income of the strike committee from all sources amounted to \$1,152.29, of which sum \$1,044.80 was paid out in strike benefits, and the remainder for general expenses.

Educational work in connection with the strike was carried on with the assistance of W. E. Trautmann, Vincent St. John, J. P. Thompson, and others. A number of large mass meetings were held, with the result that the agitation has awakened interest among the shoe workers generally. Over thirty lasters

of another Chicago factory recently joined Local 167.

At a regular meeting of Local No. 167, held February 10, it was decided, after thorough discussion, to call the strike off work for a thorough organization on the industrial plan of all shoe workers.

The Bulletin and the General Officers are in receipt of communications daily from different sections of the country, requesting information on Industrial Unionism and the I. W. W. Several such communications have come recently from members of craft unions, who through contacts with their employers have come to realize the ineffectiveness of the old style methods and forms of organization. The interest manifested by these fellow workers in Industrial Unionism is a sign of the general awakening of the workers that augurs well for the future of the labor movement.

G. E. B. Member J. J. Etter writes from Scranton, Pa., under date of Dec. 27, that things are moving for the I. W. W. among the coal miners of the anthracite region. Meetings are increasing in size and enthusiasm. He sends a letter of application for Aliners' Union (Italian Branch) with forty-two names thereon, and says more will follow after pay day. Etter adds: "This is the result of the first meeting amongst the Northern Italians, and it beats them all for enthusiasm and keenness of interest shown. The hall was jammed full. Sold \$4.00 worth of pamphlets and \$6.75 of buttons. I have made arrangements with an Italian paper at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., to publish one leading article a week on Industrial Unionism, to be written by some good exponent of the I. W. W. I am to take 150 copies per week, and what I am armed with a pair of fine boots, the mines will be flooded with revolutionary literature." Later returns from Scranton include three more charters from Etter. A local organizer is also being placed in the field in that section.

The I. W. W. storm center for the West just now appears to be Spokane, Washington. The very great activity of the fellow workers of that city is noticeable at General Headquarters in the form of letters, pamphlets, and requests for stamps, membership books, buttons and other supplies, as well as Bulletins and other literature. Their fight against the employment bureau sharks continues unabated, and the growing sentiment against these institutions. Fellow Worker James Wilson, secretary of the Central Committee of the Spokane locals, writes on Dec. 19: "Over 100 members have joined here this last week." And again on Dec. 23 he says: "I can tell you in all sobriety that we are convinced that the success of the I. W. W. in this part of the country will be amazing from now on, and I satter myself that, in some time, vision-ary." J. J. Stark writes Dec. 23 in behalf of Local 223: "We are going to move into a larger hall about the first of the year, where the rent will be \$125 per month, while formerly we only paid \$30. However I think that the increasing membership will warrant the move. Walsh is still with us and is doing great work. He has just received a telegram from Whitehead to come to the first train to Seattle, and will leave at once. It appears that there is something doing among the loggers, and they need his services for a time."

The "Hard Times" entertainment and ball given under the auspices of the Chicago Industrial District Council, at Brand's Hall, Saturday night, January 2, was a very successful affair. Nearly 400 tickets were sold at the door, and several hundred others had been disposed of previously. The low prices of admission and the considerable expense in connection with the affair, will leave net proceeds less than was hoped for; but altogether the success of this first performance gives a good indication of what may be expected in the future.

Seattle, Washington, reports a large increase in membership to the Loggers' Industrial Union the past two months, and a new local of Hotel and Restaurant employees has been chartered with forty-two names to start with.

Buffalo, New York, has just organized an I. W. W. propaganda league with more than twenty charter members to begin with.

General Organizer W. E. Trautmann left Chicago Saturday, Jan. 16, for a tour of the East, to see some four or five months. He is now in the New York district, where he is being kept busy with mass meetings and other work in the different cities. Successful meetings were held by him in Detroit, Cleveland and Buffalo. Details of his activity will be given in the next issue.

ATTENTION COAL MINERS OF THE ANTHRACITE DISTRICT AND ALL OTHERS.

Joe J. Etter, G. E. B. member of the I. W. W., is now stationed in this district, and all miners or other workers who desire his service or wish any information about the I. W. W., should communicate with him at 213 Spruce St., Scranton, Pa.

WORK FOR I. W. W. IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

Editor Bulletin:

In this section, the Imperial Valley of Southern California, after January 1st, there will be a great deal of farm work, and work of various kinds, such as land leveling, etc. It is our wish to get as many I. W. W. men into the valley as we can possibly get, in order to command the situation here next season. This is a very hot, dry climate in the summer, but it is really not so oppressive but in point of humidity as some portions of the states, south and east. Many who would otherwise come here in the next few months, will not do so on account of hearing from the workers' discouraging reports. These come from the hundreds who flocked to the valley during last cantaloupe season, expecting to make big "stakes" and who met with disappointment owing to the failure of the crop. Such a failure is not anticipated for next season, however. Wages have hitherto been kept up to an average of \$45.00 per month and "found," if you can find "doggies" on the ranch. Owing to the presence of certain scabs in the valley, commonly designated as "long horns" in the local parlance, there is apt to be a lull in wages next season unless we have ENOUGH GOOD HOLD UP PRICES and stand by the boys in case of a strike.

So, I. W. W. men, come to Imperial Valley after New Year's. Fall in line, and help us keep up wages, and even if you are in all scabs, "long horns" and others.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
LOCAL 437, I. W. W.
Holtville, Calif., Dec. 12, 1908.

WORK FOR A WEEKLY BULLETIN.

The prospect of again having the Bulletin weekly should be a powerful stimulus to the Active Brigade to increase the circulation of the official organ. On a weekly basis, again, we plan to make the Bulletin as complete as possible: with reference to the Industrial Union movement of the world in general. To this end we must have not only the necessary sustaining fund to make up the monthly deficit, but must have also a circulation paper itself. The list of the states by states received since our last acknowledgment:

Alaska	2
California	16
Illinois	12
Indiana	16
Massachusetts	10
Michigan	1
Minnesota	3
Missouri	5
Montana	3
Nebraska	1
New York	14
Ohio	10
Oregon	2
Rhode Island	8
South Carolina	2
Texas	1
Virginia	1
Washington	61
Wisconsin	1
Canada	5
Foreign	3
Total	172

TO THE WORKERS OF BUFFALO.

Local 317, Industrial Workers of the World, maintains headquarters at 1219 Broadway. Open all day and evenings. A fine library containing recent texts in the question and popular sciences in several languages, also labor papers in English and from "home," are kept for the use and education of the workers.

Educational meetings are held every Sunday afternoon at 2 p. m., alternating with discussions on International Unionism and lectures on scientific problems.

Business meetings every Thursday evening. Every worker is invited and welcome to attend.

For further information and applications for speakers in Polish, address John Frankowiak, 1219 Broadway, Buffalo, New York.

The recently organized Propaganda League of Chicago is working in connection with the District Council to establish local headquarters for Chicago. Monthly pledges for that purpose have reached a considerable sum, and the project is assured in the near future. The League is laying plans for active work throughout the stock exchange in the near future. It is also giving a lecture course at North Side Union Hall, 55 North Clark St., every Sunday night at 8 o'clock. Discussion follows each lecture. Following is the program for the month of February: Sunday, Feb. 21—Theodore Herz: "Tendency of the European Trades Unions Towards Industrial Unionism." Sunday, Feb. 28—Elizabeth G. Flynn: "Why women of the Working Class should not be interested in Woman Suffrage."

MASS-MEETING IN FULLMAN.

A mass meeting under the auspices of Local 503, I. W. W., will be held in Van Meter's Hall, corner 115th street and Michigan avenue, Fullman, Sunday afternoon, March 14, at 3 o'clock. Good speakers will address the meeting. Everybody invited.

MOVEMENT IN OTHER LANDS

INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, Eng., Nov. 22, '08.

To the Industrial Union Bulletin.
Please see that the "Industrialist," published at the above address, 25 Queensdale Rd., Notting Hill, London W., is put on your exchange list.

By reading our paper you must have seen we have advocated the same policy all along, as the I. W. W. adopted and declared for at its last convention, and for which I can safely compile the name of the "Industrial League" in song-gratulating you on. We suffered from the tactics of the politicians, the same as you, only we succeeded in shaking them off a little earlier. Since we have shaken off the S. L. P. influence we have grown splendidly. Our little paper, "The Industrialist," has a larger circulation than "The Industrial Unionist" did before the split occurred. We have exchanges with revolutionary newspapers throughout the world—North and South America, Australia, and the European Continent. Many staunch workers who fought for trade unionism when it had a militant policy, and some who have held important offices in the unions, have joined us, and now advocate the same policy of the revolutionary industrial union as the workers' only hope. Events of great importance are occurring in the labor world here, almost all of which bend in our favor and to the furtherance of our propaganda. We have many invitations from trade union branches to address them on our policy, and we can safely say 99 out of every 100 such meetings mean new and enthusiastic supporters added to our cause. With an experience of some twelve years' active work in the labor movement, as a Socialist, I have never found such a ready acceptance of revolutionary principles as in the trade union propaganda, which complex revolutionary teaching with a practical method of fighting. Men, by the dozen, who would not listen to a merely theoretic, philosophical address on Socialism, are now eagerly when it is incorporated with a form of organization that is built up on their experience of the every day struggle in the work shops. Most of the old craft unions in the British industry are losing members by the thousand owing to the obsolete methods the unions pursue, and here we find a good recruiting ground. The Jewish tailors have revolted against the treachery of the big strike in the East End of London in 1908, when some 10,000 Jewish tailors were out, and when victory was in sight. These rebels want sympathy, to be recognized as legal by the executives, which refused, and as the last conference of the Amalgamated Tailors would neither make new rules and alter old ones recognizing the machine development, and would not tolerate sympathy strikes, etc., the Jewish tailors left and are re-organizing on revolutionary lines.

Everywhere the outlook is good for us. On every hand there are signs of a considerable change in the trade union world which will cause a new line of demarcation, on one side revolutionists, on the other the toolies, cowards and scabs.

Yours fraternally,
E. J. B. ALLEN.

TENDENCIES IN AUSTRALIAN MOVEMENT.

The following is from an article on the Australian labor situation by Tom Mann, published in "The A. S. E. Journal," official organ of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, for November, 1908:

As regards the industrial organization it is no better here than in Europe, but the lesson is being learned of the necessity for broadening the basis of ordinary Trade Unionism.

"In this regard I can say real progress is being made, not that there is any large number supporting the 'Industrial Workers of the World' on straight and clear cut lines, but action is strong in that direction. The broadening of the basis, the merging of sectional unions, the separation of the economic or fighting fund from the friendly society portion, and the trend towards unity of action over the whole industrial field, is receiving attention now in New South Wales, Victoria, and New Zealand more particularly.

May I be permitted to express the opinion that in our judgment it is foolish to expect any great action to be taken in the United Kingdom, say, amongst the metal trades whilst the laboring, becoming sectionalized, beyond knowledge by entering into agreements in different districts, to expire at different times, absolutely preventing solidarity even on the part of the organization."

I am unable to share in the tendency to see clearly asserting itself by relying almost exclusively upon political action for the solving of the economic problem. I hold that industrial unionism has yet to be resorted to, and it will, I believe, yet prove to be the

greatest power ever exercised by the workers.

I hold it a fact that industrial organization should precede political organization, and at the heart I do not see any pronounced endorsement of this in England, yet without it I shall not expect genuine advance.

So I heartily congratulate our members of the A. S. E. for having done magnificently on a sectional basis, even to demonstrating we can travel no further on those lines. The needs of the hour are for all unions to pool their fighting funds, broaden their bases, enroll all who work, and never have a strike that is not backed by the whole of the kindred trades. Because compulsory arbitration would make this impossible, I repudiate compulsory arbitration.

There is a lot of fighting yet to be done, and there are other good ways of fighting as well as the Parliamentary one.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN GERMANY.

Writing from Eslingen an Neckar, Germany, under date of Dec. 15, Fellow-Worker Eugene Krans, formerly of Local 92, Portland, Oregon, says:

"As far as industrial conditions here are concerned, they are growing from bad to worse. More slaves are being thrown out of employment and the industrial reserve army has reached such proportions that the slaves still employed are working on shorter time than ever before. Some industries have been compelled to shut down entirely for a certain period, as there are no orders in sight, and for the first time in the history of the Empire the slaves are confronted with real conditions. Now that Germany has made such great headway in her industrial development, with the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands, the result is the 'great industrial' oppressions are becoming more severe. As a further result of the development of industries, the organized workers are being forced to realize that their present outworn method of organization is becoming more and more useless. So we find that there is an ever increasing tendency towards industrial organization and the centralizing of forces. Recently the leather workers by referendum voted—seventy per cent of their members—for complete industrial organization. There is also a strong movement on foot in the same direction among the tailors, and the wood workers have already carried it through. So that we can see that the slaves are moving all along the line. The same is true of France, where the marine workers have consolidated forces to ward off the onslaught of their masters and ultimately to strike the blow for economic freedom. So we can say with a certain degree of satisfaction, the ball is certainly beginning to roll pretty fast, and the more we gain the faster it will roll."

PLEA FOR AN ORGANIZED EFFORT.

To the Members of the Industrial Workers of the World:

We, the members of Local 179, I. W. W., wish to call your attention to a plan which, if carried out, will put an official organ, "The Industrial Union Bulletin," in a position where it can be issued weekly. Our plan is for each member to obligate himself to contribute ten cents weekly to the fund, to be forwarded to Headquarters for the purpose of sending out three months' trial subscriptions to the Bulletin. This could be called a special fund.

Each and every member should also try to send in the names and addresses of workmen who will agree to receive and read the Bulletin. The locals should keep these names on file and as their trial subscriptions expire, call on them and make every effort to get them to renew for six months or one year.

There would be little use in giving one copy to a man, as he might not find anything in it to interest him. But if he has the Bulletin sent him for any length of time he is bound to find something in it to interest him. A little figuring will show that if every member will pay his ten cents each week, it would mean \$100.00 per week from each locality. Think for a moment what this means. It would mean an ever increasing circulation of the Bulletin, going into the homes of thousands of workmen. On a conservative estimate this plan will renew for six months, or one year, which would mean about \$35 or \$40 more coming in, besides the advertising of our literature, and the building up of our organization.

Now, yet to be resorted to, and it will, I believe, yet prove to be the

RECRUITING LOCAL 179,
(Seal) New York City.

The Industrial Union Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

212 BUSH TEMPLE



CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Yearly Subscription 50 Cents
Six Months 25 Cents
In Advance (per 100) One Dollar
Canadian and Foreign Subscriptions (per year) One Dollar

Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1907, at the postoffice
at Chicago, Ill., under the act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

TO READERS OF THE BULLETIN

The last issue of the Industrial Union Bulletin was on December 12. Since that time strenuous efforts have been made by the General Office to raise sufficient funds to guarantee the publication of the paper weekly without drawing upon the general fund of the organization which is needed for other purposes of the I. W. W. Efforts in that line have been partly successful.

A "Bulletin Sustaining League" has been started, and during January several communications were sent to local unions and individual members calling upon them to pledge definite sums of money each month for the purpose of maintaining the official organ as a weekly. Nearly all locals that have been heard from on the proposition have considered it favorably, and some have pledged more than the sum asked for. In addition to this, quite a few individual members have joined the "Bulletin Sustaining League" and pledged \$1.00 or more per month. Collection lists have also returned considerable sums, all of which will appear in detailed form in the next issue. Meanwhile still more strenuous efforts must be made by the membership of the I. W. W. in order that we may guarantee the uninterrupted publication of the Bulletin.

The monthly deficit on the publication of the Bulletin in the past year amounted to nearly \$150.00, which had to be made good out of the General fund each month, totaling up for the year more than \$1,600.00. Evidently no revenue has been possible from advertising, but new that the referendum initiated by the last convention was carried, advertising will be permitted in the Bulletin. Meanwhile the membership must sustain the paper by their voluntary pledges and contributions until such time as the revenue from advertising can relieve them in part at least of the burden.

In the past few weeks subscribers have been hard to get on account of the uncertainty as to the appearance of the paper. This need no longer deter the active members from pushing the circulation of the Bulletin in their respective communities. Building up its circulation is after all the most practical as well as satisfactory way of aiding the Bulletin.

To all subscribers we wish to say that full credit will be given for all the time missed since the regular appearance of the paper. That is, each subscriber will receive full credit for his subscription on the basis of weekly publication, counting fifty-two numbers in a volume.

DUTY OF THE COAL MINERS

The following is translated from "L'Asceca del Proletariato," an Italian paper published at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania:

"The miners' convention for the anthracite district, held at Scranton, closed a few days ago. The same discussions were pronounced that were discussed at all the previous conventions and the same demands were made on the companies upon the expiration of the contract on the first of April, 1909.

"Now that we are nearing this approaching date and also nearing the decisive moment of the battle, the miners should recall the past struggles that, for them, were defeats. They should also formulate new ideas for the struggle that is nearing.

"It should now be time that the miners commence to open their eyes on the conduct of these union leaders and see if it is only their leaders' ignorance that is the cause of these defeats, or their betrayal of, and bad faith with, the workers.

"It should be now for the miners of some intelligence to begin considering if this union of theirs (the United Mine Workers) is not truly too antiquated in its makeup and ideals to be able to win from the companies that are organized more powerfully than they were twenty years ago.

"The old union as a weapon against the companies is like the old style farm trying to operate against the rifle of the latest model. The miners need a new union that is based on modern principles. This new union that is now making its way in the Industrial Workers of the World. It has for its scope the banding together in one body all the workers of diverse industries. If the railroad workers for example were banded together in the same general union with the miners, would it not be the most simple thing—the winning of any miners' strike? The old union, instead, contains the idea that all

branches of work must have its proper union and give battle however it can against the companies. That is the mistake. That convention demanded that the companies recognize the union. But it is ridiculous to make such demands. If the union is sufficiently strong to inspire fear, it will be recognized without your demanding it; but if it is weak, you may rest assured it will never be recognized even if you should beg the companies on your knees to recognize it.

"The convention requested that the companies grant the contract for one year. The contract! Here is another mistake. Can the workers make contracts? Can those who slowly die of hunger make contracts with those who are always in good pasture? It was these contracts that always served the labor leaders to fool and lull to sleep the miners. There arose so many good opportunities for the miners to take the companies by the throat and force from them better conditions, but the labor leaders raised their hands and screamed, 'Stop, there is the sanctity of the contract!'

"Fine unionism, this! Open your eyes, mine workers, and see where there is hope and light, and where there is darkness and despair."

A KNOCK AT THE KNECKER

Editor Bulletin:
We are all familiar with that ever-present individual, the knocker. He comes to the front not before the thing has been done to tell us how to do it, but afterward, to tell us we have done it wrong. Of late he has been wandering in the Industrial Union Bulletin, knocking off a few chips here and there, and also at different meetings and lectures. In this, his work has been of a negative character, destructive rather than constructive.

Now, like all labor and industrial publications, the Industrial Union Bulletin is capable of improvement, and can be helped by criticism. True criticism, however, is not only destructive, but constructive, such, for example, as that of recent issues of the Industrial Union Bulletin. In lieu of the old, it furnishes something better—new plans and specifications. It suggests something better. But criticism that may be summed up in the words, "It is not so good as it might be; it is bad; it is 'punk'!"—such criticism is as worthless to us as to anybody else. Negative criticism "bears fruit like the bang of a drum."

Stop knocking, and give us some contributions—and a.

Yours for the Industrial Commonwealth.

WILLARD NORTROP.

New York City.

STATEMENT FROM LOCAL 419

Redlands, Calif., Jan. 1, 1909.

Vincent St. John:

We, the committee of Local 419, Redlands, California, elected for the purpose of replying to your communication of recent date in regards to election of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America, to inform you and the membership in general that Local 419 was at no time in danger of being stamped by the actions of Carroll or others of like ilk. We believe that we understand the mission of the I. W. W. and the line of action to pursue, particularly in view of the fact that he is being coached by a set of individuals located in Los Angeles, whose tactics warms them to be known as disruptors, to say the least. And in a letter of recent date from Local 437, Agricultural Workers' Union at El Centro, Calif., that local denounces also the actions of ex-Fellow Worker Carroll, and will stand their ground despite adverse reports emanating from H. S. Carroll and signed from El Centro. Such fellows as this only do harm to themselves.

There never was at any time since Local 419 Redlands was organized, better signs of renewed activity of organizing the wage slaves. We have secured permanent headquarters and are arranging meetings in various towns around Redlands, and look for a great increase in membership this orange season.

Not one Carroll or a thousand Carrolls can sidetrack Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 419 from its mission of organizing their fellow wage slaves in the Fruit Industry into the only union in America—the I. W. W. We wish to have this published in the next issue of the Industrial Union Bulletin.

J. C. McKEIGAN,

F. E. KINSELLA,

Committee.

SPRINKERS FURNISHED

The New York Industrial District Council is prepared to furnish sprinklers and speak on Industrial Unionism to any and all labor organizations, especially to non-affiliated labor unions. Members and sympathizers are urged to bear this in mind and to act accordingly whenever any opportunity comes in contact with wage workers presents itself. These interested will communicate with

H. TRAUBIG,

741 E. 9th St.

A LESSON IN LOGIC

The "Physical Force" Fallacy.

In text books on Logic, the student is first introduced to a simple form of the syllogism illustrating a complete example of logical reasoning. An illustration of such a syllogism is as follows:

Major Premise—All metals are elements.

Minor Premise—Iron is a metal.

Conclusion—Therefore Iron is an element.

As an example, of fallacious reasoning in correct form the syllogism may be stated as follows:

Major Premise—All elements are metals.

Minor Premise—Carbon is an element.

Conclusion—Therefore carbon is a metal.

The student of logic, without knowledge whatsoever of chemistry or metallurgy, might not detect the fallacy in the above proposition, inasmuch as he would see that the conclusion is correctly drawn from the premises. The knowledge of the scientist, however, saves him from that error. The latter knows that there are certain elements, such as Hydrogen, Oxygen, and others, which are not metals, even though they possess the properties of the metal. Among these is Carbon which, though an element, is not a metal. Hence the scientist readily detects the fallacy in the major premise.

All elements are not metals, even though all metals are elements as a matter of fact. Accordingly, to the scientist, no matter how correct may be the form of the syllogism, on account of the misstatement of fact in the major premise, the whole fabric of the argument is shattered. The conclusion is false.

The same thing happens to an argument based upon a falsehood in the minor premise, as for instance:

Major Premise—All metals are elements.

Minor Premise—Carbon is a metal.

Conclusion—Carbon is an element.

The misstatement of fact is in the minor premise: Carbon is not a metal, and although the conclusion is correct as a matter of fact, that conclusion is not established from these premises with the false statement that "carbon is a metal," but from other and outside premises best known to the chemist. In either of the two above instances the argument is overturned. Only the first named syllogism stands because all the facts are there in the premises from which the conclusion is correctly drawn.

Let us apply this elementary lesson in logic to the labor movement. A current fallacy, combining falsehoods or omissions of facts in both premises, is being exploited for all it is worth by a certain "intellectual" and his small coterie of phrase peddlers. In substance the proposition assumes this complex form:

Major Premise—The economic organization of labor that repudiates the peaceful trial of the ballot, and that goes through a political party of labor, thereby becomes a "purely physical force" organization, with no alternative except to advocate the use of the gun, dynamite bomb, and other such weapons of "physical force" to enforce its claims of dispossessing the capitalist class.

Minor Premise—The I. W. W. has repudiated the peaceful trial of strength at the ballot box, inasmuch as it has amended its Preamble, leaving out all reference to ballot box action, which action in the last analysis "proclaims the right behind the might of the economic organization."

Conclusion—Therefore the I. W. W. has become a "purely physical force" organization with no alternative except to advocate the use of the gun, dynamite bomb, etc., as exclusive means, etc., and accordingly denounces the peaceful trial of strength at the ballot box, and the small coterie of phrase peddlers, in substance the proposition assumes this complex form:

Let us first of all examine the false assumption in the major premise, viz: that the peaceful trial of strength at the ballot box is the only economic organization that "repudiates the ballot" as the issue of the class struggle, is to fall back upon the ballot; and that consequently such an economic organization can never advocate "physical force exclusively."

In order to prove that assumption, one must demonstrate the all-inclusiveness of the premise. "ALL metals are elements," admits of no exception. The same is true of the "general strike," or "general lockout of the capitalist class." Is that not conceivable without violence and at the same time without the previous trial of strength at the ballot box through the political forms of the capitalist state? Manifestly the exceptions are numerous, and expose the fallacy that the economic organization that "repudiates the ballot" or refuses to make use of a political party as a "shield," etc., has no alternative except to "advocate physical force exclusively."

Such an assumption is the "nightmare" of the "purely political socialist," who, being at sea on the "power of the ballot," is equally at sea on the "power of the gun." The "alternatives of physical force" How often do we not hear this proposition in socialist circles: "Vote for the co-operative commonwealth; and when we have a majority we will have the power to abolish the capitalist class." How often do we not hear this proposition in socialist circles: "Vote for the co-operative commonwealth; and when we have a majority we will have the power to abolish the capitalist class."

But the instinct of the working class will save it from that bait: The workers as a class will refuse to organize for the sake of a shadow and intangible "co-operative commonwealth." The Co-operative Commonwealth is conceivable on no other basis than that

of the integral organization of the working class on the industrial field. In the language of the new Preamble: "The army of PRODUCTION must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The conception, admitting of no alternative, puts the problem of working class emancipation in its true perspective, from which standpoint alone that problem can be perceived in all its bearings. From that standpoint, consequently, neither the ballot nor the bullet can be considered except as possible aids to the economic organization in fighting its every day battles and in its revolutionary act of supplanting capitalism with the industrial commonwealth.

Of either or both the ballot and physical force, in the future, may meet with success or failure, must depend upon conditions, and especially upon the attitude and power of the enemy. The ballot and physical force have been employed, sometimes successfully, sometimes unsuccessfully, in past struggles of labor, are matters of history. The Paris Commune employed both—and failed. Miners of Colorado employed both—and failed. The strike of 1894 and physical force successfully against 1200 armed deputies of the mine owners. Exceptional circumstances, and particularly the friendly attitude of Gov. Wainwright, contributed to the success. Numerous are the instances of European workers employing physical force to defend themselves and their organizations. The success or failure of such attempts can be explained only by a comprehensive knowledge of conditions, including a knowledge of the strength of the economic organization, and of the weakness or unpreparedness of the enemy, or vice versa, on the particular occasion, or occasions in question.

Yet for one strike accompanied with violence on the part of the workers, there have been a thousand strikes without violence. We have seen for instance "law and order" strikes such as "passive resistance" on the part of railroad workers or the strike of the Fourth annual convention. No one but a "jeune politique" or a "capitalist tool" (or their dupes) with sinister purpose in either event—would make such an unsupported assumption. For the I. W. W. is now in position to take care of such individuals or elements wherever they may attempt to assert themselves in opposition to "the primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World, which is 'to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield.'"

"Agent provocateurs" as well as scheming politicians who are scabbing on the former in their work of disruption, are included among those to whom this warning applies.

The "physical force" fallacy, then, resolves itself into this simplified form:

Major Premise—The economic organization that repudiates the ballot has no alternative but to advocate the exclusive use of "physical force," that is, "dynamite," etc.

Minor Premise—The I. W. W. has repudiated the ballot, as shown by its amended Preamble.

Conclusion—Therefore the I. W. W. is committed to the exclusive advocacy of "dynamite" and other similar weapons of "physical force."

The assumption in the major premise is found to be false, inasmuch as it leaves out of consideration the nature and purposes of the economic organization itself—the nature of which in its completed form constitutes the "structure of the new society (Industrial Democracy) within the shell of the old"; and the purposes of which are "to fight the everyday battles of the workers," and ultimately, "to burst the capitalist shell" and usher in the Industrial Commonwealth.

From that standpoint, neither the "ballot" nor "physical force," or the "political party," or "army," are conceivable alternatives (as in the conception of the "pure and simple political socialist"), but can be considered only as possible aids to the economic organization in fighting its every day battles and in realizing its final aim. Hence the rejection of one (the ballot) as an aid does not commit the economic organization to the exclusive advocacy of the other (dynamite, etc.), any more than the rejection of one article of diet (say fish) commits the human being to the exclusive use of another (say bread) and finally resolves itself into the absurd conclusion that the human cannon, used as a weapon by the human organism asserts itself in the demand for a variety of food substances, in a similar manner the economic organization—seeks to make use of all necessary aids to its development and ultimate fruition. Only "snark doctors" and unsentimental dogmatists can hinder the organization's growth along that line.

But the assumption of the minor premise that the I. W. W. has rejected the "ballot," as the human being might reject "fish" without first becoming acquainted with its merits, is shown to be equally illogical and false when based upon the fact that the I. W. W. does not mention the "ballot" in its Preamble. Neither directly nor inferentially in the Preamble is the "ballot" excluded as a possible aid to the economic organization. Consequently the conclusion based upon these false premises, that the I. W. W. has become a "purely physical force organization" committed to the exclusive advocacy of "dynamite," etc.—is shattered into fragments.

The I. W. W. stands on solid ground.

B. E. WILLIAMS.

Generalizations. No better test of the soundness of the new Preamble is wanting than in the fact that not one of its would-be opponents so far has produced an iota of argument, against it. On the contrary, all have confined their "efforts" to harping at the new Preamble the worn-out phrases coined and bandied about in the three years' political controversy.

The new Preamble leaves the debatable question of a political action as an open question, thereby enabling the I. W. W. to grapple with it in due time. In a similar sense the I. W. W. leaves open the debatable question of the possible use of "physical force" weapons or the possible need of a "physical force auxiliary" (army) to the main body, the economic organization, in its revolutionary act of "bursting the capitalist shell." Those questions cannot be settled in advance by dogmatic assertions or far-fetched generalizations on the part of the organization itself. This, however, need not preclude the fullest and freest discussion of such subjects by the membership.

As to the I. W. W.'s position with reference to "ordinating political parties and anti-political acts," that is made clear by a resolution passed by the Fourth convention and ratified by referendum. That resolution reads:

Whereas, the PRIMARY object of the Industrial Workers of the World is to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield; and

Whereas, Organization in any sense, implies discipline through the subordination of parts to the whole, and of the individual member to the body of which he is a part; therefore be it

Resolved, That to the end of promoting industrial unity and of securing necessary discipline within the organization, the I. W. W. refuse all alliances direct or indirect with existing political parties or anti-political acts, and disclaim responsibility for any individual opinion or act which may be at variance with the purposes herein expressed."

The charge that the I. W. W. has "repudiated political action" or the "ballot" is not sustained by reference to the new Preamble or to the acts of the Fourth annual convention. No one but a "jeune politique" or a "capitalist tool" (or their dupes) with sinister purpose in either event—would make such an unsupported assumption. For the I. W. W. is now in position to take care of such individuals or elements wherever they may attempt to assert themselves in opposition to "the primary object of the Industrial Workers of the World, which is 'to unite the workers on the industrial battlefield.'"

"Agent provocateurs" as well as scheming politicians who are scabbing on the former in their work of disruption, are included among those to whom this warning applies.

The "physical force" fallacy, then, resolves itself into this simplified form:

Major Premise—The economic organization that repudiates the ballot has no alternative but to advocate the exclusive use of "physical force," that is, "dynamite," etc.

Minor Premise—The I. W. W. has repudiated the ballot, as shown by its amended Preamble.

Conclusion—Therefore the I. W. W. is committed to the exclusive advocacy of "dynamite" and other similar weapons of "physical force."

The assumption in the major premise is found to be false, inasmuch as it leaves out of consideration the nature and purposes of the economic organization itself—the nature of which in its completed form constitutes the "structure of the new society (Industrial Democracy) within the shell of the old"; and the purposes of which are "to fight the everyday battles of the workers," and ultimately, "to burst the capitalist shell" and usher in the Industrial Commonwealth.

From that standpoint, neither the "ballot" nor "physical force," or the "political party," or "army," are conceivable alternatives (as in the conception of the "pure and simple political socialist"), but can be considered only as possible aids to the economic organization in fighting its every day battles and in realizing its final aim. Hence the rejection of one (the ballot) as an aid does not commit the economic organization to the exclusive advocacy of the other (dynamite, etc.), any more than the rejection of one article of diet (say fish) commits the human being to the exclusive use of another (say bread) and finally resolves itself into the absurd conclusion that the human cannon, used as a weapon by the human organism asserts itself in the demand for a variety of food substances, in a similar manner the economic organization—seeks to make use of all necessary aids to its development and ultimate fruition. Only "snark doctors" and unsentimental dogmatists can hinder the organization's growth along that line.

But the assumption of the minor premise that the I. W. W. has rejected the "ballot," as the human being might reject "fish" without first becoming acquainted with its merits, is shown to be equally illogical and false when based upon the fact that the I. W. W. does not mention the "ballot" in its Preamble. Neither directly nor inferentially in the Preamble is the "ballot" excluded as a possible aid to the economic organization.

Consequently the conclusion based upon these false premises, that the I. W. W. has become a "purely physical force organization" committed to the exclusive advocacy of "dynamite," etc.—is shattered into fragments.

The I. W. W. stands on solid ground.

B. E. WILLIAMS.

MEMBERS OF THE NEWLY ELECTED EXECUTIVE BOARD.

T. J. Cole, Railroad Transportation Worker, Blue Island, Ill.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.
F. H. Miller, Textile Worker, Lawrenceville, E. I.

CHIPS FROM THE YELLOW PINE OF MONTANA.

It seems that the lumber jack in Montana must have taken a backseat on a blue butt and got a dog from which he is just getting up, rubbing his eyes to get a clear view of the real oncomer through the fog of "international" and trade unionism, which caused his fall.

Had he started at this job in the first place like a Bay Chalmers fish-eater, eating codfish or mackerel, there would have been no bones to cough up. But when he saw got at the job he will certainly pink-it-to-her till he shows the ding-bats how to cuff her down stream.

The lumbermen or wage slaves of Montana have never before confronted this problem of capitalistic rule as they do today. The time has come when he has to take his stand as a man in every sense of the term or submit to the capitalists and say he is a whipped dog. All you have to do is join the bunch that call themselves the International Brotherhood of Woodmen and Samwell Workers and you are whipped, and have to take the big hike, you are showing that you still have the Banker Hill spirit of retreat. But not surrender.

While the jack is loafing and looking for a job he isn't hurting himself half so bad as he would be if he joined the Company union (International) and had to wrestle logs by the face on the mountain sides for some hay-wire chack-fiddin' warmigan-robbin' jobber or company.

While some have been "chased out of the state of Montana for being agitators and believers in Industrial Unionism, yet enough remain and will remain to handle "Tillie Fairgrieve, the strike-breaker, and his bunch of company tools, their package of defeat.

When the corporations were in desperate straits for men in the spring of 1907, to get the company at Bonner, Alex. Fairgrieve appeared on the scene and with a promise to furnish the men for the corporations he sold the last spark of manhood that was in him: but he did not show up to the corporations with the goods. And now the wage scale of the lumber workers. But Alex. showed himself as a favorite ally of the corporations, nevertheless for he kept one of the mills running for the company at Bonner, which he had jurisdiction. This page in the history of labor unions of Montana can never be wiped out, for it shows the infamy of the most deceitful bunch of scoundrels of labor that ever disgraced these mountains.

In the summer of 1908 the lumbermen were presented with a reduced wage scale and an increase in hours. It was here that Alex. got in his dirtiest of dirty tricks. He told the men of great service to the corporations with his bunch of tools, and he certainly made the best of every opportunity and succeeded in helping the corporations defeat labor. And now that his Montana State Federation has no more use to the corporations, and they want the International, he starts in with night and main to boost for it.

It is not generally a fact that the corporations are so merciful. They discriminate against union men just because they are union men and went on strike. The men did nothing disreputable or unmanly during the strike. Then why this discrimination? Because the lumber workers have found out what Industrial Unionism is and have made up their minds to have some of it.

While a goodly bunch are in the ring for the Industrial Unionism, yet some are on the outside just waiting to see whether the workers are going to get together or not. They say if they all get together, why they will come in too. Had we all waited for the other fellow to get right with his fellow-man, this man that is staying out until the seed is sown and the harvest is on would be in worse misery and slavery today than he is.

Let us not be cowards any longer, but let us get at the job, hammer and tong, and not disgrace the sod we are planted on.

It means freedom to us, to our little ones, to our wives and daughters and sisters.

It means the closing of the sweat shops to little children, that they may grow up a credit to the world and not a disgrace.

It means the closing of immoral places.

It means the right to a home and its pleasures.

It means the earth to us; and let us get a hustle on and get it.

It is up to you to look horns with us and we will be together at the polls of Capitalism and smash the profit system.

H. C. McCANN.

St. Regis, Mont.

NO MORE "TIN CODES"

Enclosed find \$1.00 for four subs, with name and addresses attached. Mixed Local 8, I. W. W. want to place several more ago. I am more than pleased with my not giving way to my "emotions" and signing "resolutions" against the action of the late Chicago convention, though I am not throwing any large bouquets at myself, as I suppose there would have been like other suckers, who allowed themselves to be led by "tin gods."

I have worshipped at the shrine of my last "tin god," and I am now doing business on the "as-trust-in-any-tin-god" plan. I am fair and square for the Chicago national convention of the I. W. W., Sept. 21, 1909.

J. C. SANDERS.

Kansas City, Mo.

PORTLAND, OREGON, ATTENTION!

The headquarters of Local 82 and Building Constructors' Industrial Union of North America are now located at 269 Couch St. Free reading room open to all. All workingmen cordially invited. No dues taken. Secretary.

FRED C. LEWIS, Secretary.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

If you receive no copy of the Bulletin, or if you are not sure of the expiration of your subscription, please write to the Industrial Union Bulletin, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., at once, so as not to miss a copy.

A NEW YEAR'S RESOLVE

Follow workers, have you met your obligations towards your local union? Have you a clear card? If not, read this call to duty and act as the common sense of a worker, aware of his duties to his local union, his rights, should dictate.

From time to time, locals will inform delinquent members to put themselves in good standing, attend meetings more regularly and otherwise take a more interested part in the affairs of the local union.

Some to whom such delinquent notices have been sent, have fulfilled their obligations and resolved to take a deeper interest and more active part in the business of the organization. Some have asked for an extension of time in which to square up, which should be granted at all times when reasonable grounds are presented; while others not even so far as a meeting for many months.

There are also workers who kick and play the aggrieved when an arrearage notice is sent to them from the secretary of the local; who shout that all the union is looking for are dues-paying members, etc.

We might state that some of those sentiments expressed are prompted by honest motives, but let us be granted the privilege of pointing out the sincerity of some of the high sounding declarations of those workers.

This doubt is the reason why we make this seemingly small matter a thing to be considered by the membership throughout the country. The small as it may seem, the neglect of this as well as other duties is bound to result in infinite harm, to be overcome only by a long period of arduous labor.

Such behavior of members is quite often the cause why a local union is unable to make any headway, no matter how efficient its officers may be, no matter how hard a few determined and tireless members may have to work.

What use are those members when they are only such on paper? Of what use are those members who at every opportunity brag about being just as good as the rest, but who regard the payment of dues as a harmful imposition on the part of union officials, and when finally the arrears become too high simply ask to be readmitted as new members?

Of what use are those members when they are only such on paper? Of what use are those members who at every opportunity brag about being just as good as the rest, but who regard the payment of dues as a harmful imposition on the part of union officials, and when finally the arrears become too high simply ask to be readmitted as new members?

The organized worker should know that he is as such, in the vanguard of the present day class struggle, and that his primary mission is to become in the fulfillment of that mission cannot be achieved without sacrifice on the part of the workers engaged in the fight for emancipation.

The consummation of this goal will give to him and his family the assurance to lead a life becoming a wealth producer, to enjoy the liberty of a human being of mind and reason unlimited in the pursuit of happiness. It would lift him and his family out of this abhorrent wage system and open up a bright future—the Industrial Workers' Republic.

Admitting that this may not be the result of a short, decisive battle and conceding that as a worker may not live to see the rise of his class, to reap the fruits of his and his comrades' struggle for freedom from slavery—there is this satisfaction which should be sufficient, the satisfaction of having fought the best he knew how in his time for the final aim—the triumph of labor that his children will behold and benefit by. Of him the workers will say: He was a class-conscious, true blue comrade.

And to whom this serves not as a spur, he should look around and observe what workers in other lands have done since being organized along advanced lines and by modern methods of production. Organized for the revolution, organized to fight now for better conditions in the workshops, higher wages, shorter hours, they have over gained the respect of the most bitter opponents. All this has not come by itself. All this has not been presented to the workers on a platter. No, the workers had bitterly to fight for every inch of ground; they had to sacrifice time, energy and lots of money, but conscientious men have been forced from the master class. We must fight for more. We will improve our conditions provided we stand by the industrial union of our class.

And this is the reason why we have confidence in ourselves, in our ability, in the power of organization, such as the I. W. U. will afford in time. And it is this confidence in our just cause, and our might as organized workers, which guarantees us victory in the near future.

Therefore it is unpardonable neglect on the part of workers who weaken their only and safe fort by withholding for petty reasons the so necessary material aid to the union.

Whatever is paid in to the union treasury in dues or voluntary contributions is a sure and safe investment which bears good interest.

Today, enthusiasm alone does not make a movement. Money talks with the exploiters of labor. Money is also required by us to carry on the propaganda for industrial unionism on a scale that will bring tangible results to the strengthening of existing locals, the organizing of new ones. We want a solid organization, brought about by educating, drilling and preparing our membership in the art of giving pat to the employers in Twentieth Century style, considering all means fair when it comes to a war between labor-slaking hyenas and the slaves who rebel against the slaking process.

And you fellow workers, is about time for you to realize that we are in the midst of a constant war and not making preparations for a vacation picnic in the good old summer time.

If with your aid we could manage to secure for the Industrial Union Bulletin a circulation large enough to make it a greater factor in the education of a hostile public opinion, the time for you to "get something new" has come.

If the workers' organization to weak the bosses can't resist the desire to cut wages. On the other hand, if we stand united, organized on the industrial plan, the bosses will have a devil of a time

to beat us, we will be forced to grant concessions in order to stave off for a little longer the giant Labor from taking and holding the industries of the land; to save themselves for a little while from the worst punishment in the capitalists' estimation—going to work to produce wealth.

What we said about members paying regularly their dues and giving closer attention to affairs of the local union, pertains also in a measure to some of our local unions towards the General Administration.

If the members pay their dues regularly and otherwise make themselves useful in a line that they are fitted for, they are not only doing their duty, but working for their own material benefit.

To the member who is in the movement for emancipation of the telling masses, himself a part thereof, we say: Turn over a new leaf at once. Not only promise, but fulfill it.

Whoever is not with heart and soul in our cause, whoever is satisfied to live and is a wage slave afraid to be classed as an "undesirable citizen," should try his luck elsewhere.

OTTO JUSTH.

PATERSON LOYAL TO THE

"WRECK"

Pateron, N. J., Jan. 9, 1939.
Vincent St. John:

Fellow Workers: At a general meeting held here January 5th of Local 152, Silk Workers' Industrial Union, the following resolutions were passed without a dissenting vote. A few facts which have taken place here in the last few weeks, ought to be published in the Bulletin for the benefit of all industrial unionists, to show up the almighty methods of Katz, Glanz and Company. After Organizer Frank Bohn had taken possession of all the property here, belonging to the organization, Katz swore out warrants for the arrest of myself, F. Koettgen, Paul Golditz and Bohn, on the charge of breaking, entering, and stealing property to the value of \$600.00. They had these warrants served at once on places of employment, hoping that we would be discharged, but in that they failed, as none of us lost our employment. The Daily People account was to the effect that Bohn had deserted on after getting into trouble, and that we had to furnish \$400 each as security, when in fact our security is only \$100 each. Bohn came over here Friday and furnished security, after his return from a visit to his family in New York. When these cases came up in court, Police Informer Katz and Pateron's Attorney Informer Glanz will have a hard time proving the ownership of property, as they have no one behind them except a few Socialist Labor Party men. The members got onto their game, and have all deserted them. F. Koettgen had Katz arrested on the charge of false arrest and perjury, and he had to furnish \$2000 security.

Yours for the Real Thing,
ADOLPH LESSIG,
Sec. Sec'y Local 152, Branch 1.

RESOLUTIONS OF LOCAL 152.

Whereas, There appeared in the Daily People of Oct. 23, 1938, a set of resolutions signed by one Wm. Glanz, and pretending to be the representatives of the Industrial Union of Local 152 of Pateron, N. J., severing its connection with Headquarters of the I. W. U., and

Whereas, We, the membership of Local 152, who have no such resolutions; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the membership of Silk Workers' Industrial Union, Local 152, in general meeting assembled, do hereby repudiate the above mentioned resolutions, and brand them as the work of Wm. Glanz and three or four other disrupters; and be it further

Resolved, That we remain affiliated with General Headquarters, 510 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill., and endorse the action taken by General Organizer Vincent St. John, in instructing National Organizer Frank Bohn, to take possession of the property of the Industrial Workers of the World of Pateron, N. J., until such time when we will have again secured suitable headquarters in this city; and be it further

Resolved, That we embody these resolutions in the minutes, and send a copy to the Industrial Union Bulletin for publication.

ADOLPH LESSIG,

Recording Secretary,

ULRICH FRUEH,

Chairman, Local 152, Branch 1.

NEW YORK LECTURES

The following course of lectures will be held by the New York District Council of the I. W. U., in Brevoort Hall, 156 E. 54th St., near Third Avenue. All lectures begin at 3:00 p. m. and will be followed by questions and discussion. Admission is free.

Sunday, Feb. 21—"Liberty." Lecturer, A. S. Brown.

Sunday, Feb. 23—"The Russian Labor Union and the Revolution." Lecturer, Miss Rose Strunsky.

Members and sympathizers are urged to attend these lectures; to advertise them and to see to it that as many workers as possible will do likewise. Thrownaways will be mailed to those requesting them.

H. TRAUBIG,

741 E. 5th St.

A Study Course in Socialism

The International Socialist Review starts with its November number a Study Course in Socialism, prepared by Joe E. Cohen, easy enough for a workingman to enjoy as he goes along, thorough enough to give him an insight into capitalist society that will make him doubly effective as a fighter for the Revolution. The Review including the Study Course is a dollar a year subscription. Send for a free copy. Write to: Joe E. Cohen, 125 East 42nd St., Chicago.

NOW OR NEVER

The following contributions to the above fund have been received since our last acknowledgment:

C. E. Payne \$ 2.00

Collected by Joe Edstrom:

Oliver Makin, \$1.00; A. Larker, \$1.00; Joe Edstrom, \$1.00. 3.00

Local 84, Omaha, collected:

B. H. Vall, \$1.00; N. P. Lindahl, \$1.00; F. H. Alexander, \$1.00; A. L. Schlemmer, \$1.00; J. P. Roe, \$1.00; A. Gruter, \$1.00; N. Gruter, \$1.00; Geo. Markstall, \$1.00; Chas. H. Huber, \$1.00. 6.00

By Local 179, New York, \$1.00; otherwise collected, \$1.00. 2.00

A. Boroje on list—

M. Ebrard, \$1.50; A. Boroje, \$1.50; C. Puzza, \$1.50; John Budnick, \$1.50. 6.00

D. Ticarra, collected on list—

L. Terravis, \$1.00; A. Bormeloni, \$1.00; A. Antietoni, \$1.00; B. Cesare, \$1.00; G. Magin, \$1.00; C. Puzza, \$1.00; R. A. G. Colombo, \$1.00; Nusseline, \$1.00; B. Cesare, \$1.00; E. Fortuna, \$1.00; Bertelle, \$1.00; P. Gianetti, \$1.00; 11.00

Francis Miller, on list—

Francis Miller, \$2.00; Eugene Capasa, \$1.00. 3.00

Paul Waldman, collected on list—

P. Weidman, \$1.00; I. Latham, \$1.00; L. H. Lofberg, \$1.00; F. Kamrowski, \$1.00; J. James, \$1.00; F. Ford, \$1.00; R. Richman, \$1.00; J. D. Smith, \$1.00; C. H. Axelson, \$1.00; L. A. Ferino, \$1.00; J. O. Johnson, \$1.00; J. Olson, \$1.00; A. Kestel, \$1.00. 11.00

J. Liebrecht, collected on list—

J. Howe, \$1.00; C. Miller, \$1.00; J. Pierson, \$1.00. 3.00

A. L. Schlemmer, collected—

P. J. Boyle, \$2.00; A. L. Schlemmer, \$2.00. 4.00

Tom Corra, on list—

G. Swieger, \$1.00. 1.00

Andrew Nelson, \$1.00; W. Davern, \$1.00; T. G. Knutson, \$1.00; W. Pappert, \$1.00; O. Lappert, \$1.00; Tom Sawyers, \$1.00; T. Smith, \$1.00; J. Schell, \$1.00; W. P. Campbell, \$1.00; A. Lindstrom, \$1.00; R. Greenham, \$1.00; J. Carey, \$1.00; S. Pearson, \$1.00. 12.50

F. J. H. Reynolds, \$1.00. 1.50

John H. H. Reynolds, \$1.00. 1.50

C. H. Axelson, \$1.00. 1.00

E. Takahashi, \$1.00. 1.00

Local 413, St. Louis, Mo., \$1.00. 1.00

Local 157, New Bedford, Mass., \$1.00. 1.00

J. Powers, collected, \$1.00. 1.00

Local 152, Bra' 1, Pateron, N. J., \$1.00. 1.00

A. S. Brown, \$1.00. 1.00

Jack Walsh, \$1.00. 1.00

Local 51, Old Forge, Pa., \$1.00. 1.00

Local 215, Pittsburgh, Pa., \$1.00. 1.00

V. St. John, collected Wilkes-Barre and New Castle, Pa., \$1.00. 1.00

P. E. Peterson, collected—

Ole Peterson, \$1.00; Alfred Peterson, \$1.00; V. E. Peterson, \$1.00. 3.00

Anna Tewksbury, \$1.00. 1.00

Frank Allen, on list 117—

T. P. Mohr, \$1.00; J. Ray, \$1.00; J. Fritz, \$1.00; G. H. Hildon, \$1.00; Frank Allen, \$1.00; L. Gell, \$1.00; L. Swenson, \$1.00; O. Neime, \$1.00. 7.00

Cecil Lewis, on list—

F. R. Schlein, \$1.00. 1.00

T. Brown, \$1.00; W. E. Edwards, \$1.00; H. Turngreen, \$1.00. 3.00

R. J. Anderson, on list—

R. J. Anderson, \$1.00; J. Anderson, \$1.00; O. Rickward, \$1.00; M. Abrahamson, \$1.00; Geo. Stoebe, \$1.00; I. K. 10c; Geo. K. 10c. 4.00

Mooney, \$1.00. 1.00

Local 152, on list—

H. Haber, \$1.00. 1.00

B. E. Nilson, \$1.00. 1.00

Jack Keister, \$1.00. 1.00

Peter Johnson, \$1.00. 1.00

George Hoge, \$1.00. 1.00

P. Greenberg, \$1.00. 1.00

H. A. Reynolds, \$1.00. 1.00

Chas. Nelson, collected—

Wm. Liebrecht, on list—

F. Morris, \$1.00; P. Fausk, \$1.00; Joe Rodriguez, \$1.00. 3.00

Local 105, W. F. M., Trail, B. C., on list—

Frank Ewing, \$1.00; Chas. Newman, \$1.00; R. A. Lewis, \$1.00; D. Hardy, \$1.00; R. Hockstedt, \$1.00; contribution, 25c; Jacob Friedricks, \$1.00; Hector M. Charles, \$1.00; Wm. Hockstedt, \$1.00; McSchwartz, \$1.00; P. Greenberg, \$1.00. 7.75

Ernst Besseimann, \$1.00. 1.00

M. P. Haggerty, \$1.00. 1.00

P. H. Alexander, contribution, \$1.00; propaganda stamps, \$1.00. 2.00

J. T. Brillhart, \$1.00. 1.00

A. B. Erickson, \$1.00. 1.00

H. Goff, \$1.00. 1.00

Cash, \$1.00. 1.00

Thos. Whitehead, \$1.00. 1.00

R. Besseimann, \$1.00. 1.00

R. Smith, \$1.00. 1.00

F. Velarde, \$1.00. 1.00

R. I. Socialist Unity Society, \$1.00. 1.00

O. Ghezzi, \$1.00. 1.00

F. Janke, \$1.00. 1.00

F. Morris, \$1.00. 1.00

A. B. Cobbs, \$1.00. 1.00

Geo. H. Johnson, on list 113—

Martin Claib, \$1.00; Pat Casey, \$1.00; T. Ekram, \$1.00; Michael Foley, \$1.00. 4.00

Wag how, \$1.00; Ed Douglas, \$1.00; Joe Casey, \$1.00; Jan. Trepe, \$1.00; T. E. Woodbridge, \$1.00; V. Matson, \$1.00; C. F. McAtter, \$1.00; E. F. Kirby, \$1.00; R. Greenberg, \$1.00; W. E. Hoge, \$1.00. 12.50

Geo. H. Johnson, \$1.00. 1.00

Local 215, \$1.00. 1.00

P. Goldis, \$1.00. 1.00

Chas. Bernat, \$1.00. 1.00

P. E. K. \$1.00. 1.00

30c; Donation, \$1.00. 1.30

W. E. McDermott, donation to Org. Fund, \$1.00. 1.00

A. Fried, \$1.00. 1.00

Kama Petrie, \$1.00. 1.00

J. A. Stromquist, collected—

J. P. Erskine, \$1.25; "Sympathizer," 35c. 1.60

Ernest Bauman, \$1.00. 1.00

Eugene Krauss, \$1.00. 1.00

S. Schulberg, \$1.00. 1.00

Previously acknowledged \$231.54

Total \$1,115.19

A LESSON IN DISCIPLINE

West Hoboken, N. J., Jan. 4, 1939.

Secretary-Treasurer I. W. U.

Fellow Workers: At a regular meeting of Textile Workers' Industrial Union 120, held on Dec. 13th, the matter of voting on the referendum was taken up and discussed at length. As the time was referring, the members present thought they were not sufficiently enlightened, a motion to hold an extraordinary meeting for Friday, Dec. 18th, prevailed.

At this meeting the matter was discussed in detail. The actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention, and the assault upon Fellow Worker Francis by two General Officers, and the unsetting of delegates, the getting of \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented, under the claim that he would be seated, and the unsetting of Delegates Francis in spite of the payment of the debt owed to General Headquarters, we consider of sufficient importance to consider the late convention null and void.

We, the undersigned election committee, have been instructed to draw up this explanation so as to show the reasons of the vote taken by the members of this local union.

We were further instructed that this explanation shall appear in the next issue of the Industrial Union Bulletin.

We shall stand by the constitution as adopted by the Third annual convention and ratified by a general vote of the members, until another convention is called and properly conducted.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union 120, is in good standing both with General Headquarters and with the National Textile Workers' Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World, therefore we want this vote to be counted and explanation published.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

JOE ANTONIETTI,

A. E. BERNARDINI,

ERNEST ALAZZONE,

DOMENIO FIORE,

CESARE BALLINI.

(Seal)

Owing to the fact as stated in the above communication, that Local 120 is in good standing both with the General Administration and the National Industrial Union of Textile Workers, and the further fact that the Local's act of voting is in effect a recognition, in spite of its declaring, "the late convention null and void," we comply with their request to count the local vote (which is solidly negative on every proposition), and to publish the communication in our next issue, and their statement for another reason as well. That is, to show the fellow workers, if possible, the absurd and contradictory attitude the local has allowed itself to assume with reference to the General Organization, through the influence of a clique of would-be "wreckers" of the I. W. U. in New York.

In the first place, where did Local 120 get its information on the matters mentioned in the above communication as its reasons "to consider the late convention null and void." No communication whatsoever came to the General Office of the I. W. U. from Local 120, inquiring (1) as to the actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention; (2) as to the "assault upon Fellow Worker Francis by two General Officers;" (3) as to the "unsetting of three delegates;" (4) as to the "getting of \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented, under the claim that he would be seated;" or (5) as to "the unsetting of Delegates Francis in spite of the payment of the debt owed to General Headquarters."

We are told these matters were "discussed in detail" by the local. On what authority? The question was discussed by Local 120 was based on alleged information derived from an outside and hostile source, with no attempt on the local's part to get any information from the side of the convention itself. It does not appear that the local even consulted the published minutes of the convention in the Bulletin. Had they done so, their statements regarding the "getting of \$50.00 from the local unions which Francis represented, under the claim that he would be seated;" could not have been made.

For the enlightenment of the fellow workers of Local 120, we will take up in detail the five points raised above:

1. The actions of the General Officers prior to the convening of the convention are subject to inquiry from Local 120. No specifications are made by the local, consequently there is nothing to affirm or to deny.

2. The "assault upon Fellow Worker Francis by two General Officers" had nothing whatsoever to do with the convention. By no possible stretch of imagination could that incident be construed as a reason for "considering the late convention null and void."

The incident in question occurred at General Headquarters on the morning of the first day, before the convention was called to order. It grew out of the fact that several weeks before that, Francis had done some work for the I. W. U. in New York, which he (Francis) considered should be paid for by the General Administration, and had paid himself out of receipt obtained at the time, without previously putting in his bill, and sent the balance to General Headquarters. Secretary St. John, in a letter to Francis, acknowledged the indebtedness, but recommended that he should not irregularly withdraw from Francis a voucher for the amount he had received, the voucher to be signed and returned to General Headquarters. Francis, however, replied with a sneaky letter, and returned the voucher unsigned. Delegates Francis among the delegates in the General Office on the morning of Sept. 21, St. John took the voucher to him, and said: "Sign that." Francis signed without a murmur. St. John said:

"Next time I may have occasion to send you a voucher, you sign it, and don't send any money letter in reply, or I will go to New York and knock your block off." Francis, rising from his chair, replied: "Who in hell are you?" whereupon St. John slapped him in the face with his open palm. Francis then used his hand against St. John, and that being taken away from him, grabbed up a chair and assaulted St. John with that "weapon of physical force." It was then that Jones and others interfered to protect St. John when they knew had use of only one arm; and in his anger Jones gave Francis several well-directed blows in the face. Shortly afterwards Francis, standing on one side of a table, boasted: "I believe I could lick that fellow" (meaning St. John), which so angered Heulewood that he made for Francis. Heulewood, however, restrained himself (which was lucky for Francis), and the incident ended. It will be seen from the foregoing that the incident in question had nothing to do with the convention.

3. No reasons are given by Local 120 for objecting to "the unsetting of three delegates." It will be assumed that their only reason is partiality for the delegates in question, without regard to the literal and implied constitutional grounds upon which they were excluded. Here are the facts:

Max Ledermann of Local 85 was designated as a delegate to the convention as proxy delegate for Local 82, because he did not bear credentials from his own local else. Section 14 of Article IV of the constitution, as amended by the Third convention, reads as follows: "Two or more local unions in the same locality, with a total membership of 500 or less, may jointly send a delegate to the convention and the vote of said delegate shall be based on the representation heretofore provided for."

It is a delegate in member in good standing of one of the locals so sending him." Ledermann offered as excuse for bearing Local 52's credentials that none of the members of that local could speak English, which was afterwards found to be false. It was also found subsequently that Ledermann obtained Local 52's credentials on the false representation that he would also have credentials from his own local.

The convention, however, in denying him a seat, acted only on the constitutional ground above quoted.

Daniel DeLeon of Local 58 was excluded on grounds given in a protest by members of his own local in New York City. Trauring and J. Ebert—who contended:

(a) That DeLeon, who was working in a printing office, properly belonged in the local of the printing industry in New York City (Local

The Fourth Annual Convention of The I. W. W.

TENTH DAY'S SESSION—Continued.

TENTH DAY, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1908. FORENOON.

Chair called the convention to order at 9 o'clock a. m., and suggested that the convention adjourn to 2 o'clock p. m. to give the committee time to finish their work. Motion to that effect carried.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

Chair called convention to order at 2 o'clock p. m. Roll call was read; 7 absentees. Minutes of previous session were read.

Communications—Secretary read a communication, to-wit:

"Whereas, the unseated delegate from Local Union No. 58 has published a deliberately garbled account of part of the proceedings of the fourth annual convention of the Industrial Workers of the World in the Sunday People of September 27th, 1908, as proven by the minutes adopted by the convention and

"Whereas, the said delegate in said article has referred to members of the I. W. W. as 'slum proletarians,'

"Be it resolved that this convention go on record as denouncing said report, and declares such actions as detrimental to the I. W. W. and requests that the incoming executive board take constitutional action in the matter."

"J. A. McArthur, J. D. Smith, Eliz. G. Flynn, H. L. Gaines, C. H. Axelsson."

Moved by McArthur, seconded by House, that the resolution be adopted. Motion carried.

Whitehead requested that the report of the auditing committee be taken up as special order of business, so that the general secretary treasurer could get away and attend to other important duties.

Request was granted.

Whitehead reported that the committee had gone over the books and accounts of the organization carefully and that they found everything correctly entered and vouchers for all expenditures. He read the total of income and expenditures, and found according to books a balance of \$202.75. One mistake to the amount of \$14.80 was found, though entered on day books, but not transferred to cash book, but in justice to the secretary it should be stated that the entry had the mark in the handwriting of the secretary, "Look up," and as an overplus of \$14.85 was found on hand, there is a difference of 5 cents in favor of the general secretary treasurer.

He then read the liabilities of the organization and stated that the general secretary treasurer asked that the liability of \$465.43 due to the Preston Smith fund be explained by him to the convention.

The committee made several recommendations, which are recorded as action was taken on them.

Trautmann explained the Preston-Smith fund. He stated that the general office had issued three calls for funds. In the first two calls the contributors were requested to send the money to Goldfield, and a part account of that money thus collected was given through the Bulletin by the committee in charge of the defense in Goldfield. The third leaflet advises contributions to be sent to Denver. In connection with the defense there were 12,000 letters sent out, and an equal number are in preparation, and with the cost of printing the expense exceeds the amounts that a few contributors sent to general headquarters of the I. W. W. instead of forwarding it to the places as directed on the printed circulars. Yet he could not see his way clear to pay these expenses from these receipts and it is up to the convention to decide whether the expense of conducting the preparations for defense be deducted, or the money be forwarded and the organization defray all the expenses incurred.

Questions were asked relative to the accounts of Williams and the overpayment of organizers. The secretary explained the situation and showed that these were caused by circumstances over which the secretary had no control.

Yates wanted to know since when Williams was not considered under pay of the organization, and Williams requested that his accounts be referred to the incoming executive board for investigation.

A motion was made by Hertz and seconded by Wm. Yates that the matter of overpayment to Rad. Katz and

of Williams be referred for further investigation to the incoming executive board. Motion carried.

Committee on audit recommended as follows:

"We, your auditing committee, recommend that the G. E. B. shall elect from the uncontested delegates an auditing committee of three, who shall audit the books three days prior to the convention, to be paid at the rate of \$3 per day.

"We also recommend that all delegates bring with them tabulated statements from locals they represent of all receipts from the general headquarters with 'date,' 'number of receipt' and amount.

(Signed) Thos. Whitehead, George Conover, O. J. Sautter."

Motion made to adopt part 1 of recommendation.

After some discussion the motion was carried.

Motion was made to adopt part 2 of recommendation. After some discussion it was amended by Axelsson, seconded by McArthur, that the word "receipts" be inserted in place of tabulated account.

Amendment carried, and motion as amended carried unanimously. Moved by Miller and seconded by McArthur that auditing committee be discharged. Motion carried.

Motion was made that the general executive board deduct the amount of expenses for getting out the appeals for support of Preston and Smith. Motion was amended that the full amount of money collected be turned over to Preston and Smith.

Amendment carried.

Committee on resolutions reported that the following resolution be adopted, to-wit:

"Be it resolved by this convention that in accordance with the resolution passed at the convention of the French branches of the I. W. W. held on May 30th and 31st, 1908, at Lawrence, Mass., the co-operative movement of the working class in France and Belgium be studied during the ensuing year and that the editor of the I. U. Bulletin be instructed to publish valuable articles and news items relating to it."

Signed by thirteen delegates.

Motion made to concur in report of committee. Motion carried.

Communication was read as follows:

"Resolved that we rescind our action re minority report of grievance committee in regard to executive board member Williams and substitute a vote of censure for failure to proceed to Philadelphia re matter of Bakery Workers, but commend him for his strenuous fight against the enemies of the I. W. W."

"Elizabeth Gurley Flynn."

Motion made by McArthur, seconded by Axelsson, to rescind the action of previous day against Williams. Motion carried, three votes dissenting.

Motion made by Executive Board Member Williams be censured for failure to proceed to Philadelphia re matter of bakery workers, but commend him for his strenuous fight against the enemies of the I. W. W.

Motion to divide the question carried. The first clause was then adopted.

Committee on constitution reported. Committee recommended not to concur in the proposed amendment of L. U. No. 15 to Article 5, Section 2, to-wit:

"Local unions which would come under the jurisdiction of the textile department shall pay ten cents per capita tax to general headquarters."

Motion was made to adopt report. Motion carried.

On Art. 6, section 6, committee recommends the following amendment: "The general executive board, or not less than ten locals in at least three industries, may initiate a referendum on any subject, but local unions demanding a referendum on deferring action on any matter upon which the action has been set, must have sufficient endorsement at least sixty days prior to the close of such vote. All referendum returns shall be based upon the membership for the month prior to the issuance of such referendum."

Motion made and seconded to adopt report. Motion carried.

Committee recommended on Article 6, Section 7, be amended to read as follows: "As soon as there are two or more National Industrial Unions in

closely kindred industries with an aggregate membership of not less than ten thousand, the General Executive Board shall immediately proceed to call a convention of these National Industrial Unions, and to organize them as a National Industrial Department of the Industrial Workers of the World."

Motion to adopt report was carried.

(To be continued.)

THE ETHICS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

E. J. FOOTE.

Is it not, let me ask you, by moral life, by internal movement on the one hand and by order and discipline on the other, that institutions take possession of society?—Gusset.

When a great change takes place in society, operating through a large development of wealth and power, the revolution with its transformation of the entire social fabric expresses itself in two distinct categories; notwithstanding that these two facts are comprehended in one great fact, it exists out of two conditions and makes itself manifest by two symptoms; namely: the condition of social activity and individual activity; the condition of society as a whole and the condition of the individual as a part.

It is a truth which meets with ready acceptance, that wherever the material conditions of the individual extends, vivifies and ameliorates itself; whenever a unit of society displays itself with luster at the expense of society as a whole, it necessarily involves and carries with it the desire, the sentiment of the whole society expressed in some degree, however imperfect.

Reverse this viewpoint: Suppose the social development in progress at the expense of the individual; does it regenerate in like degree and manner in its process of refining and regulation of the material conditions of the individual?

It is this apparent contradiction in the elements of society that lead some to deny the possibility of a union, the one with the other of these two warring factors; but if we inquire into the spontaneous, instinctive convictions of men, we find the two elements associated and closely joined together; that from the effect of the one we expect a like result from the other, and we are not to suppose that this progress of society does not react upon and militate to the advantage of the individual.

Admitting all the crimes charged against social development committed at the expense of its members, society regulates and disciplines because it is inherently an expression of the mass of individuals and furnishes the occasion, the *mobile*, for individual advancement, and though obstacles of all sorts may interpose, though a thousand transformations may be undergone, in fact, have been undergone, yet sooner or later they will rejoin each other because this is a law of nature expressing itself as the great fact of history—the faith and the hope of the race.

And this faith and hope which has come to express itself in a theoretical ideal is borne of the recognition of that integral relationship of the individuals and has to do with a more harmonious self adjustment of the minute material interests which form a thread and weave a design in the woof of society. The condition of this adjustment and relationship is what is properly constituted in the meaning of the word, ethics.

After arriving at a definition we can well afford to leave the academic form of discussion and descend, armed with this formulated knowledge, into the intricate and complex mechanism of the labor movement.

In discussing the ethics of industrial unionism, one is forced into the use of this form of organization as a criterion of the labor movement; to acknowledge at the outset, the true nature of the causes that have brought the I. W. W. into existence. For it is not true that the violation of all ethical standards by the American labor movement; the progress of the movement at the expense of the individual; the scabbery and villainy condoned and excused by partisans of the general movement, has formed itself into a universal protest against crime, a protest which assumes the role of crime finding voice in the Industrial Workers of the World.

To the lay reader it may appear that the internal dissension of the American labor movement is instigated by pompous individuals who assume the role of preceptor and carry on the interminable strife in behalf of this vainglorious ambition; the facts are, however, that the cause for the lack of working-class solidarity is of a deeper and more vital importance; that the source of the menace is not to be traced to the bumpkins' tyranny of labor fakirs and politicians, but exists and flows out of the original relationship of workers in the industries.

The primitive mental attitude of the working man who is known to his fellow workers by the slang phrase of "lucker," who by fawning subservience, plays the part of informer against his

fellow workers, furnishes the key to the system of capitalist control of the American labor movement.

It is perhaps true that the ideas which found expression in craft unionism originally was borne of an attempt to overcome this primitive individual theory of self protection by organizing all the workers in a given craft into international unions whereby the demands of the individual could be formulated along the lines of his immediate self protection with the additional advantage of the numerical strength of all craftsmen; this idea carried to its highest completion through a federation of craft unions, has given us an organization numbering two million members known as the American Federation of Labor.

By the light of industrial development we find, however, that instead of doing away with the petty and narrow idea of the individual workman who seeks redress from aggression of obverse material conditions, that the craft unions have formulated this original idea into a program of scabbery under the name of unionism; by putting craft interest against craft interest in the industry and enabling the employers to more easily control the working class in their gigantic industries by using the international unions of the A. F. of L. in place of individual spirit of malice displayed by the informers and stool pigeons with which the working class is infested.

It is the recognition of this fact by "labor leaders" on the one hand and by politicians of varied denominations on the other and the means of livelihood to be gained by exploiting this form of impotency that the workers have become harassed by men who prey through this system of espionage, from the most insignificant labor fakir to the political shysters posing as saviors of the working class.

If it is true that terms are only of relative importance and are only applicable to conditions as necessity dictates, then it is true also that the virtue of this entire controversy hinges upon the ethical declaration of industrial unionism, that "An injury to one is an injury to all." For, in view of the facts herein set forth, it is plain that this principle did not apply to previous conditions, but that it does now apply to present conditions and will apply with an ever growing necessity by virtue of industrial development. For the good and sufficient reason that the self interest of workmen has kept pace with this development and today finds itself expanded into organic class interests.

Thus it is that we have arrived at a true ethical standard of working class action to find that it is expressed in its completest sense by the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, and at the same time justified the existence of the I. W. W. with its plan of organization as the scientific way of binding together the material interests of the individual, making it possible to bring about that union referred to at the outset: the individual and social activity of the working class.

I would gladly stop here were it not that more remains to be said as regards those individuals of whom mention has already been made. The logic of this ethical standard has, however, saved us some effort by convicting that class of individuals whom we have referred to as labor fakirs, of their crimes and expurgates the question at issue of the contamination of their continued existence.

It does not, however, entirely shut out that class of men who have held to the general social activity of the movement, and in so doing, condoned and ignored or exploited the ethical standard herein set forth. An unlimited ambition and an admirable faculty of extracting from every day and circumstance some new means of creating profit, without pretending to rule it" swayed and guided by interested views and the necessities of their situation, who in contributing to the overthrow of the capitalist system of production are discovered in the act of laying plans whereby they can foment themselves into the place of power soon vacant; who after posing as fiery revolutionists are found facing about for anti-revolutionary reaction; successively a Danton and a Bonaparte.

It is of these men that the working class stand in most danger in assuming the new role of industrial organization. Not content with the scheming coercion long clothed in the sophistry of economic phrases, we discover them on the eve of their final expulsion from the arena of revolutionary working class action, abetting discord in our ranks; heaping calumny upon our members; holding us up singly and collectively to persecution by the capitalist class in denominating us as "assassins," "velled dynamiters," etc., and finally, intruding from without and within to maintain their insidious domination of the working class.

To rid ourselves of this form of chicanery we must trust to our growing consciousness in the meaning of that greatest of ethical ideals, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

THE NEW PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing, therefore, that such an organization is absolutely necessary for our emancipation we unite under the following constitution:

I. W. W.

PUBLICATIONS

Industrial Union
HANDBOOK No. 1
By Wm. E. Trautmann

Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble, by A. E. Edwards. Very useful in giving an understanding of the form of organization of the

Industrial Workers of the World
\$3.50 a hundred prepaid

Industrial Union
HANDBOOK No. 2
MEANS AND METHODS
By Wm. E. Trautmann

PART I
To know what Industrial Unionism is you must read what is said about it by its friends and what it says for itself; only in that way can its present aims and ultimate purposes be understood.

\$3.50 a hundred prepaid
PART II (same as above)
Industrial Union
HANDBOOK

In Italian, per hundred.....\$5.00
In Polish, per hundred.....\$5.00
In Finnish, per hundred.....\$5.00

NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the General Office have the postage or express charges paid in advance.

VINCENT ST. JOHN
Room 310, Bush Temple.
CHICAGO - ILLINOIS

For Office

Name

Street and Number

State

Send your subscription for THE INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN to Wm. E. TRAUTMANN, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago

III, and fill out this blank

(Enclosed find cents.)

Address to Wage Workers

IN PORTUGUESE.

Send to Wm. Yates,

1017 Acushnet St., New Bedford, Mass.

Local Union No. 223 of the Industrial Workers of the World of Spokane, Wash., meets every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Union Hall, No. 514 Washington St., Spokane, Wash. All workers are heartily invited to these meetings. JAMES J. STANLEY, Financial Secretary, No. 223 Spokane, Wash.

I. W. W.

PUBLICATIONS

Leaflets in English, per 1,000—

Address to Wage Workers.....\$1.50

The Textile Industry.....1.50

Metal and Machinery Industry.....1.50

Story of a New Labor Union.....1.50

Address to Lumber and Wood Workers.....1.50

Address to Street Car Workers.....1.50

Address to Railway Workers.....1.50

LEAFLETS IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES.

Address to Wage Workers in German.....4.00

Address to Wage Workers in Yiddish.....3.00

Address to Wage Workers in French.....3.00

Address to Textile Workers in French.....3.00

Special address in Roumanian.....4.00

Special address in Slavonian-Dalmatian.....3.00

Japanese address to Wage Earners.....10.00

For above send to I. W. W. Headquarters, 292 Valencia St., San Francisco, Calif.

For Story of a New Labor Union in Spanish send to O. Brostrom, 432 1/2 E. 3rd St., Los Angeles, Cal.

I. W. W. CONSTITUTION.

English (per 100).....\$ 5.00

French.....5.00

Polish.....5.00

Hungarian.....5.00

Spanish.....10.00

Finnish.....5.00

Letish.....5.00

Membership application blanks in Polish, per 100, 50c.

Membership application blanks with preamble in Slavonian - Dalmatian, per 100, 50c.

NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the General Office have the postage or express charges paid in advance.

VINCENT ST. JOHN
Room 310, Bush Temple.
CHICAGO ILLINOIS

For news of the Industrial movement in Great Britain read THE INDUSTRIALIST, which contains news of the British movement and the continental Syndicalist movement. Published monthly.

Yearly subscription.....50 cents

Half yearly subscription.....25 cents

Bundles of 50 copies of each issue sent post free, 60 cents.

Send money orders only, to N. B. P. O., Stamford Hill, London, N.

THEOS. WARNER,
Business Manager,
14 Spendon Road, Broad Lane,
South Tottenham, London, N.